

Message Text

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ORIGIN NODS-00

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DRAFTED BY EA/PRCM:HETTHAYER
APPROVED BY EA:RHOLBROOKE
EA:WHGLEYSTEN, JR.
S/S-O:AWOTTO
NSC:MOKSENBERG

-----043989 152157Z /61

P 152110Z AUG 77 ZFF4
FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO USLO PEKING PRIORITY
INFO WHITE HOUSE PRIORITY

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 193064

NODIS
WHITE HOUSE FOR BRZEZINSKI ONLY

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS:CH, US OVIP (VANCE, CYRUS)

SUBJECT: HOLBROOKE - HAN HSU AUGUST 11 LUNCH

1. ASSISTANT SECRETARY HOLBROOKE HOSTED LUNCH AT STATE DEPARTMENT AUGUST 11 FOR PRCLO ACTING CHIEF HAN HSU. LUNCH WAS CHARACTERIZED AS OPPORTUNITY FOR HOLBROOKE, BEFORE PEKING TRIP, TO RETURN PRCLO HOSPITALITY. ALTHOUGH VIRTUALLY ALL OF CONVERSATION WAS DEVOTED TO SECRETARY'S TRIP AND OTHER SUBSTANTIVE MATTERS, ONLY FORMAL BUSINESS TAKEN UP WAS DEMARCHE TO HAN ON NORTH KOREAN DECLARATION. WHILE FOLLOWING EXCHANGES WERE OCCASIONALLY SHARP, AND HAN WAS HAVING SOME DIFFICULTY IN HIS RESPONSES, THE CONVERSATION WAS CONDUCTED IN A FRIENDLY TONE BY BOTH SIDES.

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2. HAN WAS ACCOMPANIED BY COUNSELORS HSIEH AND TSIEH, FIRST SECRETARY HSU HSIN-HSI AND INTERPRETER YANG YU-YUNG; GLEYSTEN, AND THAYER, AND NSC'S ARMACOST, OKSENBERG ALSO PARTICIPATED. HOLBROOKE EXPLAINED TO CHINESE THAT A CHARACTERISTIC OF THIS ADMINISTRATION, PARTICULARLY ON MATTERS INVOLVING CHINA, IS THAT STATE DEPARTMENT AND NSC OFFICERS WORK INTIMATELY AS A TEAM. HE NOTED THAT TWO NSC OFFICERS' PRESENCE AT LUNCH DRAMATIZED THIS FACT.

3. ARMACOST REPORTED ON HIS RECENT TRIP TO KOREA AND JAPAN.

HE EXPLAINED THE SCHEDULE FOR WITHDRAWALS, NOTING THAT WE WOULD ONLY WITHDRAW ONE BRIGADE WITHIN THE FIRST TWO YEARS. HE STRESSED THAT REMAINING TWO BRIGADES WOULD BE WITHDRAWN WITH THE BULK OF COMBAT FORCES ONLY AT THE END OF PERIOD.

4. SECRETARY'S PEKING PROGRAM: HAN STATED THAT SECRETARY'S DAY-TO-DAY ACTIVITIES IN PEKING WOULD BE SETTLED ON-THE-SPOT AFTER SECRETARY'S ARRIVAL AND BY DAILY ADJUSTMENTS TO ACCORD WITH BOTH SIDES' DESIRES. ON A GIVEN DAY, HE SAID, THE SECRETARY WOULD TELL CHINESE HE WOULD LIKE SOME SPECIAL ACTIVITY, THIS COULD THEN BE LAID ON. HE NOTED THAT IN ANY CASE PROGRAM WAS ALREADY BEING TAKEN UP BY USLO WITH MFA.

5. TOPICS FOR PEKING MEETINGS: HAN PROBED FOR WHAT US SIDE HAD IN MIND FOR AGENDA. HOLBROOKE AND GLEYSTEN INFORMED HIM (IN PRESENTATION SIMILAR TO THAT GIVEN BY THE SECRETARY AT PRCLO DINNER JUNE 8) THAT THE SECRETARY WOULD INTEND TO DISCUSS AT SOME LENGTH OUR VIEW OF THE WORLD SITUATION, INCLUDING AFRICA, MIDDLE EAST, USSR, SALT, WESTERN EUROPE, INDIAN OCEAN, SOUTH ASIA, KOREA, VIETNAM, AND JAPAN. HOLBROOKE SAID OF COURSE WE WOULD ALSO WISH TO DISCUSS BILATERAL ISSUES, WHICH COULD BE DIVIDED INTO TWO CONFIDENTIAL

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PARTS, NORMALIZATION OF RELATIONS AND ALL OTHER ISSUES SUCH AS TRADE AND CULTURAL EXCHANGES.

6. CONGRESSIONAL ATTITUDES: CONGRESSIONAL ROLE IN FOREIGN POLICY AND ATTITUDES TOWARD NORMALIZATION WERE DISCUSSED IN SUBSTANTIAL DETAIL. HOLBROOKE TOLD HAN OF MANY MEETINGS HE HAD HELD IN RECENT WEEKS WITH SENATORS AND REPRESENTATIVES ON ALL SIDES OF CHINA ISSUES, NOTING, WITHOUT SPECIAL EMPHASIS, THAT MEMBERS ARE CONCERNED ABOUT RELATIONS WITH TAIWAN. HOLBROOKE TOLD HAN THAT, WHILE THERE WERE INSTANCES SUCH AS NORMALIZATION OF RELATIONS WITH VIETNAM WHERE PRESIDENT COULD PROCEED DESPITE SUBSTANTIAL CONGRESSIONAL OPPOSITION, BUILDING A CONSENSUS WAS A MAJOR TASK. AT ONE POINT HAN RECALLED THAT NIXON HAD SAID THAT HE HOPED TO IMPROVE SINO-US RELATIONS ON A NONPARTISAN BASIS; WE NOTED DIFFERENCE IN PRESENT POLITICAL SITUATION.

7. MUTUAL EFFORTS: HOLBROOKE REMINDED HAN THAT ONE REASON FOR NIXON'S SUCCESS IN THIS AREA WAS THAT BOTH SIDES - CHINESE AND AMERICAN - WORKED TOGETHER TO MAKE THE POLICY A SUCCESS. HAN DODGED THE POINT, SAYING THAT AFTER A LONG SEPARATION OF THE TWO GOVERNMENTS, THE NIXON-KISSINGER

AGREEMENT TO THE SHANGHAI COMMUNIQUE PRINCIPLES WAS A GOOD THING AND LAID THE BASIS FOR FUTURE RELATIONS. HAN ADDED THAT THE CHINESE HAD QUOTE NOTED WITH SATISFACTION UNQUOTE THAT THE PRESIDENT AND THE SECRETARY HAD SAID

THAT THE US WOULD FOLLOW THE SHANGHAI COMMUNIQUE PRINCIPLES.
QUOTE THIS IS SOMETHING WE WELCOME UNQUOTE, HAN SAID, AND
HIS COUNTRY WAS QUOTE LOOKING FORWARD TO THE SECRETARY'S
VISIT UNQUOTE. HOLBROOKE RESPONDED THAT HAN WAS QUOTE
ABSOLUTELY CORRECT IN READING THE SERIOUSNESS OF THE
PRESIDENT'S PURPOSE IN SENDING THE SECRETARY OF STATE TO
PEKING UNQUOTE. HE DREW ATTENTION IN PARTICULAR TO THE
SECRETARY'S ASIA SOCIETY SPEECH AND THE RECENT TIME
MAGAZINE INTERVIEW WITH THE PRESIDENT. HE SAID THAT,
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ALTHOUGH THE PRESS IS NOT AWARE OF OUR CONSULTATIONS WITH
CONGRESS ABOUT CHINA POLICY, THESE HAVE BEEN CARRIED OUT
UNDER THE PRESIDENT'S AND SECRETARY'S DIRECTION AND ARE
ALSO IMPORTANT. HOLBROOKE ADDED THAT WE WOULD BE
TAKING OTHER STEPS - PUBLIC AND PRIVATE - TO DISCUSS WITH
OTHER AMERICANS AND OTHER GOVERNMENTS THE SERIOUSNESS OF
OUR PURPOSE IN SEEKING IMPROVED RELATIONS WITH PEKING.
HOLBROOKE STRESSED TO HAN THAT WE LOOK FORWARD TO THE
PEKING VISIT IN THE HOPE THAT QUOTE TOGETHER - WITH
MUTUAL HELPFULNESS - WE CAN MOVE TOGETHER TOWARD NORMALI-
ZATION UNQUOTE. THE TWO SIDES, HOLBROOKE CONTINUED,
QUOTE WORKED TOGETHER IN 1971-2 TO HELP SOLVE EACH
OTHER'S PROBLEMS. THAT IS THE SPIRIT WHICH WE THINK IS
IMPORTANT NOW ALSO UNQUOTE.

8. HAN'S RESPONSE: HAN, AFTER BRIEF REFERENCE TO
AMBASSADOR WOODCOCK'S MEETING WITH VICE PREMIER LI,
ANSWERED BY SAYING THAT ALTHOUGH THE AMERICAN SIDE TALKS
OF CREATING THE SPIRIT OF WORKING TOGETHER, IN FACT THE
CHINESE SIDE HAD DONE MANY THINGS AND THE US SIDE HAD
NOT DONE ANYTHING.

9. MUTUALITY (CONT): HOLBROOKE POINTED OUT TO HAN THAT
HE HAD NOT IDENTIFIED AREAS WHERE THE CHINESE WERE
ASSISTING US WITH OUR PROBLEM. HAN: QUOTE THE US OWES
CHINA A DEBT UNQUOTE. HOLBROOKE REPLIED THAT HE WOULD

LIKE TO SAY FRANKLY THAT IT IS NOT HELPFUL TO SPEAK OF
QUOTE OWING A DEBT UNQUOTE. HOLBROOKE WENT ON TO SAY
THAT HE WOULD LIKE TO SPEAK PERSONALLY AS A FRIEND FOR A
MOMENT AND NOT AS AN OFFICIAL OF THE USG. WE HAVE A NEW
PRESIDENT, HOLBROOKE SAID, WHO HAS COMMITTED THE ADMINIS-
TRATION TO THE SHANGHAI COMMUNIQUE. THE ADMINISTRATION
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UNDERSTANDS VERY CLEARLY THE CHINESE POSITON AND THERE IS
NO QUESTION ABOUT OUR KNOWING THE CHINESE VIEWS. OKSENBERG

ADDED THAT IT IS VERY CLEAR TO ALL WHY THERE HAS BEEN

ESTRANGEMENT IN SINO - US RELATIONS AND WHY THE NORMALIZATION PROCESS HAS NOT BEEN COMPLETED. BUT THE QUESTION NOW IS WHETHER BOTH SIDES HAVE THE WILL TO MOVE AHEAD AGAIN. HE SAID HE BELIEVED THAT BOTH SIDES DO. HAN SAID THAT QUOTE SO LONG AS YOU HAVE TROOPS IN CHINESE TERRITORY, THE US OWES A DEBT TO CHINA. WE HAVE NO TROOPS IN HAWAII OR ALASKA UNQUOTE.

10. CPIFA VISIT: IN THE COURSE OF A GENERAL DISCUSSION OF US POLITICAL FACTORS, HOLBROOKE NOTED THAT SHORTLY AFTER HE AND HAN HAD DISCUSSED THE POSTURE ADOPTED BY THE CPIFA DELEGATION, IT HAD MET WITH A GROUP OF SENATORS CONVENED BY SENATOR CRANSTON. THIS HAD BEEN THE SAME DAY AS SECRETARY VANCE'S ASIA SOCIETY SPEECH. HOLBROOKE SAID THAT AFTER THE MEETING WITH SENATOR CRANSTON, SEVERAL SENATORS HAD TELEPHONED HOLBROOKE TO URGE THAT THE SECRETARY NOT TALK ABOUT CHINA THAT NIGHT IN NEW YORK BECAUSE OF WHAT HAD HAPPENED AT THE CRANSTON LUNCHEON, VANCE OF COURSE, DID NOT CHANGE HIS SPEECH BUT THE IMPORTANT FACT IS THAT THE SENATORS WHO TELEPHONED HOLBROOKE WERE NOT JUST QUOTE RIGHT WING UNQUOTE, THEY WERE MODERATE SENATORS, WHOSE VOTES WE NEED TO SUPPORT THE ADMINISTRATION'S FOREIGN POLICY, AND THEY WERE VERY UPSET. SINCE THE CPIFA SESSION WITH CRANSTON, SENATORS HAVE BEEN TALKING OF THAT INCIDENT. QUOTE FROM THE POINT OF VIEW OF THE SHANGHAI COMMUNIQUE UNQUOTE, HE SAID, QUOTE IT WOULD HAVE BEEN BETTER THAT THEY NOT COME AT ALL UNQUOTE. HAN REJOINED THAT SEVERAL SENATORS, HOWEVER, HAD TOLD THE CHINESE THAT THEY, AS A RESULT OF THAT SESSION, HAD BETTER UNDERSTOOD THE CHINESE POSITION. HOLBROOKE REPLIED THAT WE KNOW THAT SOME POINTS CAN BE MADE IN DIFFERENT WAYS - EITHER GENTLE OR TOUGH. IT IS FACT AND NOT A DEBATING POINT THAT WHAT
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THE CHINESE GOVERNMENT SAYS, AND WHEN AND TO WHOM IT SAYS IT, WILL AFFECT THE PRESIDENT'S ABILITY TO DO CERTAIN THINGS. THIS IS A SIMPLE FACT, HE CONCLUDED. HAN ANSWERED THAT THE US SIDE IS QUOTE ALWAYS TALKING ABOUT THESE SENTIMENTS UNQUOTE. WHY NOT LOOK AT THE SENTIMENTS OF THE CHINESE, 800 MILLION PEOPLE, AND NOT JUST AT THE SENTIMENTS OF 200 MILLION AMERICANS?

11. CONCLUSION: GLEYSTEN COMMENTED THAT THE PROBLEM IN THE US IS NOT JUST ONE OF REPUBLICANS AND DEMOCRATS OR CONSERVATIVES AND LIBERALS. NEITHER, HE SAID, IS IT A MATTER OF DEBT. THE US INVOLVEMENT IN TAIWAN WAS A HISTORICAL REALITY, ANY CHANGES WERE A COMPLEX AND DELICATE MATTER. EVEN NON-CHINESE ISSUES CAN AFFECT SOME US

SEGMENTS' ATTITUDES TOWARD CHINA. HOLBROOKE AGREED, SAYING IT IS NOT A NEGOTIATING POINT BUT A POLITICAL REALITY. THE US SIDE, OF COURSE, QUOTE UNDERSTANDS THE

DEEP COMMITMENT THE CHINESE HAVE TO ONE CHINA UNQUOTE.
HAN'S POINT IS CORRECT, HOLBROOKE SAID, AND OUR POINT IS
ALSO CORRECT; THE PROBLEM IS TO BRIDGE THE TWO. OKSENBERG
ADDED THAT RHETORIC ON OUR SIDE - AS WELL AS THE CHINESE
SIDE - IS IMPORTANT. WE WOULD ACCEPT, HOWEVER, THAT THE
US SIDE HAS NOT ALWAYS BEEN AS METICULOUS AS IT OUGHT TO
HAVE BEEN IN TAKING INTO ACCOUNT CHINESE SENSIBILITY, AND
THAT WE MUST DISCIPLINE OURSELVES TO DO SO.

12. IN FINAL EXCHANGE, HAN SAID THAT HE HOPED THE VISIT
WOULD GO WELL. WE SHOULD KEEP IN MIND THAT WE HAVE MANY
POINTS IN COMMON, ESPECIALLY IN THE INTERNATIONAL SPHERE.
HOLBROOKE AGREED. THE IMPORTANT PART OF THE SECRETARY'S
VISIT WILL BE OUR EXCHANGE OF VIEWS ON MANY QUESTIONS.

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13. COMMENT: IN THIS INFORMAL SETTING, WE CHOSE TO
STRESS US POLITICAL REALITIES MORE THAN CAN BE DONE IN
FORMAL PEKING DISCUSSIONS. WE HIT PARTICULARLY HARD
A LINE WE ANTICIPATE IN PEKING - THAT THE US OWES CHINA
A DEBT.
VANCE

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